

THE
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So general has become the feeling against all men in power, that to some of my readers it may be necessary to say a few words as an introduction to the address to Lord Brougham, which forms the first part of this number. Without any judicious discrimination betwixt the *worthy* and the *unworthy*; without considering the difference betwixt a man's *doing his best* in the condition in which he is placed, and what *he would do* if he were more favourably circumstanced; without supplying us with other names, whose *superior ability*, *honesty*, and *disinterestedness* are unquestionable,—I say, without any of these, it has, unfortunately, become the fashion of many to rail against every man in power. There are two classes of persons who do this: the first, those who have a settled dislike to all government, a love of anarchy, and a desire to hasten the downfall of the social fabric. Too many are actuated by these views; they are generally men of the lowest grade of moral excellence, and carry in their own conduct a clear illustration of the value of their principles. The second class consists of *sincere reformers*, who are anxious for the salvation of their country, but who, either for want of reading and impartial reflection, or through the influence of the clamours of others, or their own impatience to see their laudable wishes realized, are apt to cast their unmeasured censures upon those whose sincerity and honesty they ought to admire. Real patriots are apt to be precipitate, and without allowing for the innumerable difficulties which occur, are often disposed to vend their disappointment upon the heads of the innocent. The time requisite thoroughly to reform the constitution and laws of a nation is not to be measured by weeks and days; and to be accomplished peaceably, and fixed upon a sure basis, we must be prepared for many delays. Our impetuosity deceives us in our estimation of men in power. When Lord Brougham and his colleagues

announced the outline of the Reform Bill, the country was struck with its liberality, and the most ultra reformers pronounced it a *sweeping* measure; but *now*, before the bill is even tried, a clamour is raised against it, and also against the men who have so far brought it to a successful issue. These sincere, but short sighted politicians, join the abettors of revolution, and by trying to sink the present reforming ministers in the estimation of the country, are (perhaps undesignedly) raising their worst enemies to place and power. If Lord Brougham is not to be trusted with a share in the government of the country; if *he* is not the friend of the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of the people, I confidently ask, *who* is? It is much easier to deal in empty declamation than to prove that he has ever neglected his duty. I believe he has done all *he could do*, though not so much as *he would* if his *own will* might have been his guide; and, indeed, if he had not been supported by an unequivocal expression of popular approbation, the enemies of our country would have prevented him doing what he has. Why is he hated and maligned by the conservatives, but because his measures are favourable to the people? and, therefore, instead of adopting the blind policy of some reformers, by opposing him and his colleagues, it being evident that in the present situation of parties a more liberal ministry cannot be formed at present, we should support *them* to prevent the others from regaining their power. To prevent the country from again becoming the prey of the conservatives, or exposed to the horrors of the system which seeks the subversion of all law, the friends of peaceable reform ought to rally around the present government; and when they find that the ascendancy of liberal principles is put *beyond danger*, then they may safely press their objections to some part of the cabinet. If confidence has any resting place, the genius, the mind, the honesty of Brougham, I conceive, afford the greatest assurances of a progressive reformation. Let but the people, in the exercise of their confidence, instead of placing impediments in the way, strive to remove the obstructions which ages of corruption have imposed, and Brougham will yet surprise them by his efforts. Anxious that reform may be effectual, I have, in the following address to his Lordship, endeavoured to point out the great desideratum in this important work, namely, *moral* reform, and to enlist his services in that great cause. And if both rulers and ruled will endeavour to reform themselves, and adopt the principles of *moral rectitude*, as their best guide in politics, the reformation of our laws will be comparatively an easy work.

TO LORD BROUGHAM AND VAUX.

My Lord,

Nothing but a deep concern for the permanent welfare of my country, and an anxiety to promote it by means which will not prove delusive, could have induced me so far to deviate from the humble course I usually pursue as to address myself to your Lordship. Elevated to a high situation in his Majesty's government, the long and tried friend of rational education, to your Lordship's mind the present and the prospective state of England must be a subject of deep concern. On every *Mechanics' Institute* is written your love for the improvement of mankind; your efforts for a universal education, your exposures of the misapplication of the immense funds left for charitable purposes, and your mighty efforts to effect legal reforms, shew a deep interest in the welfare of the nation. And though you are now promoted to the honours of an "order," which, unfortunately, has not always identified itself with the interests of the "many," and though you have been maligned by the envious, and your motives impugned by the rancour of prejudice, I still believe you are the real friend of the people, and the advocate of every rational and practicable measure for making them happy. The time, I trust, is near at hand when—hinderances removed—you will prove by your measures, that a change of title has made no change of sentiment, and that the flattery of a court has not rendered you less anxious for ameliorating the condition of your country.

Expectation never ran higher than at the present moment. A long and arduous struggle for liberty kept down the buoyancy of hope, but the late sudden advancement of popular rights has given rise to extravagant expectations, and I fear, increased the delusion as to the only means by which these can ever be realized. As to the necessity of great changes there can scarcely be a difference of opinion, but it is possible that these, instead of removing evils, and creating greater enjoyments, may perpetuate, and even increase the present ills in another shape. Discontent, disunion, crime, and poverty abound, even in company with the increase of knowledge, the increase of wealth, and the increase of a liberal national policy; and, *unless the expectation of men be seriously turned from external arrangements to the importance of good character*—from the shadow to the substance—disappointment is inevitable. The anxiously looked for effects of the Reform Bill, like those of many other great measures, will shew, that a national panacea is not to be had merely in a change of statute law.

Before I proceed further, I beg, my Lord, to state my firmest conviction, that a *reform of morals*, that an *advancement of virtue and piety*, are the *only* means by which our country can be benefited, and by which any real good law can be rendered practicable and efficient. Daily observation, both as to present and past affairs, convinces me, that whatever changes are effected in constitutions, whatever improvement in the laws, unless the law of men's minds be corrected—unless that which forms every design, impels every action, be right—our progress towards happiness will be visionary. The law is not the power of acting so much as it is the index of men's actions, and though by its sanctions it may, in some instances, secure obedience, it is a *high moral tone of feeling* that can only produce uniform obedience to the laws, or spread the influence of individual and national happiness. Let the current be free, and wide, and deep, and very few auxiliaries will be needed either to impede or impel its progress. If the people be good, bad laws will be neutralized; if otherwise, the best laws will be useless. Is it for want of *rules* that so many individuals are dissipated and miserable? Is it for want of *external arrangements* that so many families suffer? Are the disappointments and breaking up of hundreds of societies, one after another, owing to the defection of their *written regulations*? No, no! The want of moral principle, the want of character, some where or other, is universally the cause. What law, or even what generosity, can supply the happiness of which a family is robbed by an idle, a dissipated father? What national measure can meet the consequences of the perfidy and dishonesty of tradesmen? What statute can supply the absence of real patriotism and pure philanthropy? Supposing even the most Utopian expectations of the Reform Bill were realized, and that wealth was made to flow into, and fill the recesses of present poverty, without better habits, and better moral feelings, our experience is sufficient to tell us, that, in most cases, it would be a curse and not a blessing. A higher agency than that which the law of man can produce is necessary to assail the corrupt principles and vicious habits which now prevail. If there be one truth more incontrovertible than another, in reference either to individuals or communities, it is this, "that *virtue alone* is happiness below."

It is most important, I submit, that this truth should be widely diffused, and its importance enforced. For want of it each man is charging existing evils upon his neighbour, and almost all upon the government and the laws. "The evil is at London," we are always told, and thence it is that a remedy for all our woe is to proceed; and, acting upon this notion, instead of beginning to reform *ourselves*, we are all aspiring to reform the

state. The man that has not a particle of self respect, that abandons his family to the mercies of the world, is yet boisterous for reforming the doings of the higher powers. He that spends his time and his money at the pot house, that presumes to legislate for nations over his cups, who professes to adjust with confidence the conflicting interests of the British empire, is not even able to maintain the equilibrium of his own little carcase! We might as well expect luxuriant crops without either sun or rain as expect national prosperity without national character. Let the morals of the working class, the shopkeepers, the tradesmen, the clergy, and the nobility be reformed, and with improved laws, and even, in many instances, with bad laws, all would soon be well. If men but really feared God, held themselves accountable for their actions, were convinced of a future state of rewards and punishments, and were living under the regular inculcation of these principles, what a changed world we should have! In a word, my Lord, without excluding any class in society, I have long been convinced—and that not without the best opportunities of judging—that the principal cause of the misery, excitement, and disunion of the country is *BAD MORALS*. For if we have even bad laws—and this none will deny—it is from *hence* they have sprung, for whilst men are corrupt themselves, every emanation is sure to be the same.

But we are represented by some as a *virtuous* people, and it is barely possible that you may incline to this view. Those who maintain this, I fear, have either fixed a very low standard or they have had few opportunities of judging. If the state of the workhouses, prisons, asylums, and criminal courts may be regarded as symptoms, you have had opportunities of judging of these. If the consumption of intoxicating liquor, if the state of the public houses, the dram shops and beer shops, be any criterion, I presume you are not entirely ignorant of it. If we consider the morals of our youth, and especially those employed in factories; if we trace the great want of principle in connection with our trade; if we notice the want of domestic felicity, the general contempt of religion, and the total disunion of the rich and poor, the workman and his employer; if we look at the present proceedings in the new boroughs; if, in fact, we consult the opinions of the best judges, we cannot but agree as to the increase and prevalency of bad morals. Civilization may appear to progress, education may maintain its ground, and the forms of religion may continue to be respected by the wealthier classes, but all these tell nothing for the character and deportment of the great mass of the people. The rich are sensual, haughty, proud, and covetous; the poor uninstructed, en-

vious, and revengeful. Considering the fine country we inhabit, the wealth we possess, the advancement we have made in useful knowledge, our internal peace, and the security we enjoy from foreign foes—all which ought to have led to “unity, peace, and concord”—it is a source of deep regret to find the country torn in parties, and every virtue and excellence sacrificed to moral corruption.

There is nothing without a cause; and it is by pointing out the chief causes of this state of society that I wish to fix your Lordship’s attention upon certain measures, which, in order to secure a reform of morals, ought to be adopted. The prevalency of vice I attribute to two causes; first, *the changed condition of the country*, as to numbers, wealth, employment, trade, manner of living, and residence; and, secondly, the *inefficiency* of the means employed (at a vast expence) to counteract the vices of the age.

The first of these is seen in an increase of numbers, an increase of wealth, an increase of poverty, and a change in the habits, employment, and local situation of the people. All these have had a powerful effect upon morals. Where there is not a counteracting influence, the increase of numbers is not only a numerical increase of agents for doing evil, but, reaching the point of ascendancy, is capable of destroying altogether those restraints which would have kept in subjection a smaller number, and, like a torrent let loose, of spreading destruction and desolation around. The means of correction, which were once amply sufficient for the country, are not so now. When to the increase of numbers we add the altered state of the people, as to residence, employment, and circumstances, and trace attentively the workings of these changes, we shall discover a cause, sufficient to account for all the evils which we so much lament. When the people were distributed into families and hamlets, all over the country, employed in rural exercises, enjoying wholesome air, and a remuneration which, with frugality, was adequate to their wants, how vastly different, in a moral point of view, were their circumstances from what they are now! when the rising youth were not exposed to the contamination of vicious associates, when every child was under its parent’s care, and when the ties of nature were the safe-guards of virtue! I read, with no ordinary pleasure, of the times when our worthy matrons and their daughters—on whose cheeks the beams of innocence and health did smile—spun their yarn, and wove their cloth, without coming in contact with a train of temptations scarcely to be resisted. Contentment, harmony, and peace prevailed, and the poor man’s cot was a place of com-

parative happiness. Real sympathy, true hospitality, and genuine friendship were flourishing virtues; and the rich and the poor discovered a mutual kindness and attachment which have no existence in the present day. The influence of trade and commerce has so changed the face of things in this country, that hamlets have become villages, and villages large towns, and so dense is the population, and so changed are the modes of living, and the kind of employment, that to these, as a first cause, may be traced the loss of moral character. Besides, the extremes to which these changes have led contribute much to the same end. Instead of a happy medium, as the general lot, we have constantly before our eyes *overgrown riches and extreme poverty*. This state, and the steps which have led to it, throw off an effluvia, which is destructive to the moral health and vigour of the great mass of our manufacturing population. Some of the rich, voluptuous, oppressive, austere, pride themselves upon their wealth and honours, despise the poor, and treat them with contempt. The poor envy the rich, revenge their injuries, and rejoice at the downfall of their oppressors. Borne down by labour, destitute of every comfort, they drag out a life of misery, such as few would believe, unless they were to visit their dwellings. Wealthy as a nation, and yet a great part of the people paupers! Can virtue grow in such a soil? can religion thrive amidst the choking cares of destitution and want? The *changed* circumstances of the country, then, I maintain to be the *primary* cause of the present immorality. But this might and *ought* to have been accompanied with a *counteracting* influence; and the *want* of this is the *second* cause, to which I have already alluded.

The operation of these causes in changing the habits and character of the people has gone on uncontrolled, though the evils resulting might and ought to have been *counteracted*, and it is to this second particular that I beg your patient attention. I speak not now of restraints and checks employed voluntarily by one part of the community for the good of others, or of all that zeal and labour which persons disapproving of a national church have manifested in propagating religion, by which so much good has been done; but, as a member of his Majesty's government, I draw your attention to those restraints, civil and religious, which the law has provided.

The enactments intended as *civil* restraints, too various to enumerate, have mostly been placed in the hands of the magistrates; but your knowledge of their qualifications, appointment, character, and total inadaptation as to numbers, residence, &c. for so important a trust, will prepare you to

judge how far the law has been efficient in their hands for the suppression of vice. It is beyond their province to supply motives, but it is their duty to enforce every legal enactment for the good of the community. How far this has been done effectually and impartially, and how far this duty has been voluntarily and vigorously pursued, I need not say. A good magistracy ought to consist of persons possessing *suitable qualifications*, and of none other, and chosen by those who are competent to judge; their number and their residence in some measure suited to the sphere in which they are called to act. The contrary of these, it is well known, exists all over the country. The magistrates, generally, are ill qualified for their office, the unworthiest motives lead them into the commission, and their appointment is altogether beyond the control of those who are the best judges of their fitness. Honour, not to say advantage, more than usefulness, seems to lead men to be magistrates. We are well supplied with them here, lay and clerical: if a case be brought before them they attend to it, but where is there one who seems to take so much interest in obedience to the laws, and for the promotion of good morals, as to make a single *voluntary* effort, attended with labour, for these ends? The aldermen of the borough are ex-officio magistrates, but without any invidious reflections, is it likely that these should be the *best* qualified for administering the law and keeping the peace? The consequence is, that good laws remain dormant, bad practices prevail, and, owing to their apathy, if not to their vices, the symptoms of moral depravity, instead of being checked, are suffered to grow into confirmed habits. Who can contemplate the scenes of disorder and dissipation exhibited in the public houses, and the destruction of every domestic and social comfort by intoxication, without blaming the magistrates who have the power to suppress them? As guardians of the peace, they ought to be like fathers to the people; mix with all ranks of society, encourage virtue, notice every symptom of vice, and so far as the law can take cognizance, see that the community is benefited by its provisions. If they were anxious to be a blessing to the community, they might suggest many changes in the laws, of the operation of which they would have the best opportunities of judging. The fact is, with the exception of the different sessions, we never see or hear of the magistrates meddling with the concerns of society. In case of a riot they may be seen at the head of the constabulary force, but at other times they seldom if ever appear among the people in their official character. With all deference to their office, I beg to repeat to your Lordship, that in order to give the country the moral benefit arising from the civil

restraints of our laws, some material change ought to be made in the appointment of the magistrates. The fact is, at present, the laws are openly violated; the most false and dangerous sentiments as to property, labour, and the rights of society, are regularly published without contradiction; insubordination is proclaimed upon the house tops; and a moral deterioration is most manifest in the general habits of the people; and yet all this appears to be unnoticed and disregarded by the present race of magistrates. The laws, indeed, in some cases have been bad, but independently of this, it must be obvious to every observer, that whilst the changed circumstances of our country have been producing an increase of vice, the *counteracting* influence of our civil arrangements have not been calculated to meet the evil. But even this is traceable to the want of a high tone of moral character. If the love of mankind, if the desire of doing good, if the pleasures of virtue and religion, were but more prevalent; if the merchant, the tradesman, and the middle classes felt an ardent love to their country, were willing to make reasonable sacrifices for the good of others; and if those in authority were disposed to set a good example, then the importance of all good laws would be recognized, and all parties willing to carry them into effect. Voluntary efforts would also be made upon the most practicable scale, which would not fail in their object, as they generally are doing, for want of men of energy and character to support them. A grovelling, sensual, avaricious spirit reigns in the country; and whilst every man is caring for himself, but very few seem disinterestedly to care for others. Civil restraints, then, so far as they connect with the laws, it is obvious, are not efficient, and that principally from the want of moral excellence in the executive, and in the people at large.

I come, now, to point out to your Lordship the defects in the *religious* and *moral* influence which ought to have counteracted the vices of the age, and to which I beg your especial attention. Whatever good influence may incidentally arise from the laws of the realm, higher motives must be put in operation in order effectually to counteract vice. This has long been considered the office of the church, and the effects of its ministrations and influence are now fairly before the public. Whatever may have been the corrupt motives of many in furthering and supporting a national religious establishment, the *ostensible* one at least is, to spread religious principles and to counteract the vices of the age. Never a system in the world was less adapted, in the present state of opinion, for this than the Church of England. The promotion of religion has been committed to the clergy; the state recognizes them as the only *national* instructors;

and by paying them upon so liberal a scale, evidently supposes that they are not only adapted for the work, but that they perform it efficiently. How long has the country been blindfolded by the assumptions of a race of men, who, while they never cease to defend the sanctity of their order, and grasp at all the emoluments of office, have proved themselves utterly incapable of teaching and guiding the people in religion and morals! Whether we examine the system or the men employed by it, we shall see that it *does not*, and cannot, counteract the increase of immorality arising from the causes already named. Let us look at what the Church of England *does*, and what it *does not*. It provides, out of the labour of the country, princely incomes for the sons and dependants of the nobility, who are the last men in the world to teach us the religion of the meek and lowly Jesus. It gives vigour to their ambition and avarice, and, under the cloak of religion, becomes a regular support of hypocrisy and oppression. How it operates among the expectant clergy you have good opportunities of judging, whilst we in humble life know well, from daily observation, that instead of being an institution for diffusing pure religion, it is in a thousand ways producing infidelity and disaffection. Its temporal concerns are a cause of constant rancour and contention, and it is regarded, generally, not as the friend, but as the enemy of the country. Its evident inefficiency has led the most honest and active part of the country to leave it, who being pressed with incessant demands for what they conscientiously disapprove, are led to expose its defilements to the people. The country people, not long since, were bigoted churchmen, but now they are amongst the warmest of its accusers, and, owing to the tithes and exactions of the clergy, are all ready to hasten its downfall. And they, like the towns, in a great measure, are left to the influence and teaching of Catholics and Dissenters. If we look to its influence over those who are engaged in its services, we find it no better. Church work seems to be like all other work, calculated by profit and loss; and the performance of which, it is evident, has no influence over the character. Let any man begin at the lowest office, and ascend through every grade, and try if he can discover the influence of disinterested motives, an ardent desire for national good, or any rational effort for regaining the lost influence of religion. While superstition enslaved the minds of they people, they bowed to the church, but since the have begun to think for themselves, too many not only evince an hostility, but encourage themselves in vice by its corruptions. The services, it is true, are read over to those who attend, but is the repetition of the same thing a

thousand times likely to supply that guidance which is necessary, or to meet the ever varying necessities of the worshippers? Without adhering to antiquated forms, either in religion or any other affair, we should always adopt the means best adapted to answer the end in view; and as this system is not calculated to lead the nation to piety and goodness, and to check the sources of vice, it ought to be abandoned. Its forms are unsuitable for the purpose; it confines its operations to very narrow limits, to the places consecrated for worship; and few, officially engaged, feel desirous of changing or extending their operations. All reasoning apart, your Lordship knows well the vast expence attending the support of this church, the disunion of the nation which it creates, and the universal prevalence of vice, even in the midst of all this apparent religion. Efforts have been made to increase the number of churches, but if they were seriously intended to promote the religion of the country, it was a great mistake. When we think of the additional burdens imposed, of the exasperated feelings of the rate payers, of the conflicts which are now going on respecting the rates to maintain them, it is obvious they are doing much harm. To speak plainly, the enormities of the church have been such that the great body of the people now hate it.

Thus it is, my Lord, that while the internal changes of the country have been contributing to the increase of vice, the church, the national instructor of the people, instead of acting as a universal corrector, instead of meeting vice in its various forms and places, has remained a bloated, pompous establishment for the secular benefit of the clergy. I have watched its progress from a boy, I have marked the tendency and influence of the system, and I know well that it is not only uncongenial to the present unfettered intellect of the country, but absolutely productive of those evils which ought to be its object to destroy. It has long stood in the way of a better agency: being the darling of the state, and being constantly cried up as "excellent," "apostolical," and "venerable," many have not had courage to attempt, by other means, what at the same time they knew the church could never accomplish. It has both neglected to guide the people, and been an obstacle in the way of others who would have attempted the work. What real improvement has not the church opposed? and it has not given in its adhesion to any plan for the good of the mass of the people, till forced by the influence and menaces of the people. Thank heaven! a better seed has been scattered through the land; numerous parties have split from the church, and these, unfettered, have been incessantly labouring to stem the torrent of iniquity, and

to administer to the religious improvement of the people. And if there be any rational restraints, if vice has been checked by education, or by other means, the dissenters from the church have ever taken the lead. Weighing the matter candidly, my Lord, I give it as my decided opinion, that the *church has never answered the end of its appointment*, and that, of late, instead of correcting the evils which abound, its influence altogether has been the means of increasing them.

A great extent of church patronage is in your hands; but, notwithstanding this, I doubt not your unbiassed wish is to serve your country; and I beg most respectfully to state, that while the church and state are connected, we shall never have the former sufficiently pure to operate as a corrective to the prevalency of vice. And if we are to depend upon other parties for the labour and success of this work, I submit, that it is exceedingly oppressive for them to be compelled to support this obnoxious church also. My earnest wish, therefore, would be, not for the parliament to reform the church, but for the state to give up the connection; and let the church folks and the bishops, who admire the system, take it into their own hands, and make such reforms as they think proper. The tithes and the other property, which hitherto have been lavished upon worthless hirelings, may be profitably applied to the liquidation of our debt. I am not aware that statesmen can do much, in a *direct* manner, towards promoting the cause of good morals; their province is rather to remove every obstacle; but I believe you could not do a greater service than to place *every religion upon a level*, and to declare your approbation of the efforts of all, so long as they are good citizens, and live peaceably together. I have dwelt longer than I intended upon this subject; but believing that *good morals* are the *only foundation of national happiness*, and that the church appointed, and supported at a vast expence, is not calculated to secure these, I felt wishful to speak to your Lordship in a manner not to be mistaken. The removal of the *nationality* of the church, a reform of the magistracy, and a change in some of the laws, combined with the sincere efforts of virtuous men, and the labours of good Christians, throughout the country, *would be the likeliest means*, under the blessing of God, to restore the lost character of our country.

Permit me just to say that the *poor laws*, the *insolvent debtors' act*, the laws respecting *public houses* and *beer shops*, the stamp duties, appropriately denominated *taxes upon knowledge*, the *corporation charters*, and the *criminal law*, as collateral subjects, have all some connection with the object I have in view; and I trust, when you have the honour of presiding in the new parliament, their importance will not be overlooked.

I am most anxious to see my country prosperous and happy; and being equally certain, that whatever political changes are effected, until we have a more virtuous population, this will not be the case, I have ventured to lay these sentiments before you. Rash and precipitate men are accusing you of inconsistency, and of deserting the people; but I confidently hope, by appearing as the consistent and fearless advocate of political, religious, and moral reform, you will endear yourself to the country, and obtain as your reward the affectionate esteem of all classes.

I am,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

J. LIVESEY.

EXCLUSIVE DEALING.

The real friends of the country, already too much divided, are still likely to be more so by the adoption of the foolish, oppressive, and impracticable doctrine called "exclusive dealing." What consistent reformer, who has all along been advocating *liberty*, and denouncing an interference with the exercise of the elective right as *tyranny*, can stand up, and say to his neighbour, "If you don't see with my eyes, and surrender your conscience to my keeping;—if you hesitate to vote for the man whom I approve;—if you don't say "aye" and "no" at my bidding;—if you don't make *me* your *lord*, and consider *yourself* the *slave*;—if you don't make *profit* and *loss* the *rule* of your voting;—I shall treat you as an enemy, and, as far as I am able, I will deprive you of your last morsel?" Is this liberty? is this equal rights? is this toleration? is this freedom of election? is this the "consummation" so devoutly and anxiously wished for? Here, then, we have the revival of the "Inquisition;" nay, what is worse, for under this edict, any body, and every body, may judge, convict, and condemn! Intelligent reformers, who value consistency, must disclaim such a doctrine, and I am glad to notice that it has already been disowned by the radicals of Bolton in one of their addresses. But I find "The Poor Man's Guardian" labouring hard to defend this practice. "The tories have set the example," he says. More shame, then, to follow it. Have reformers no higher principles, no better conduct than what they can learn from the tories? "It is not the *act* but the *intention*" that we are to look at; "exclusive dealing is a *crime* in them and a *virtue* in you." Intentions, certainly, in the sight of God make a great difference, but *bad*

acts are not less defensible when they are *injurious* to others, because we plead our good *intentions*. The sacrificing of heretics was always done, it was said, with the good *intention* of serving the church, but that gave no ease to the martyr's pains. Again, the persons marked out as *victims* are represented as having "robbed" the others of their *rights*, though to talk of *robbery*, when the practice of robbing the shopkeepers is inculcated, is barefaced enough. But the allegation is *untrue*. If by the decision of parliament (and that generally at the request of the nation) the elective franchise is conferred upon a certain class, are these individuals to be charged with having *robbed* the others? Was the franchise taken from one party and given to the other? or did those who now possess the privilege of voting ever manifest any anxiety for an exclusive right? Such statements are merely put forth to inflame the unwary, and to sow the seeds of disunion wider and wider. The fact is, in Preston the *two* pounder has the same right as the *ten* pounder, and yet even here, a party is not content to exercise their own suffrages, but insolently DEMAND the votes of others, and threaten something as bad as the screw and the rack to every one who objects. Though all this is done with the solemnity of "an order in council," I will not implicate the working classes of my townsmen generally with any participation in such a course of monstrous oppression. They know better; they have felt the galling yoke of bondage; the despotism of their employers is not yet forgotten; and every thinking man would revolt at being a partizan to uphold a system which he had been fighting against all his life. It requires but a *single* pen to put all these "lists" and threats upon paper, and though I am sure every sensible reformer in Preston will abandon so tyrannical a project, yet there are some, no doubt, whose bad principles will approve of it, and who, mistaking *venge* for *patriotism*, will go to the full length of the injunction. Bad advisers have been the ruin of every effort made by the working class, and if they look back, they will remember how often they have been misled, robbed of their pennies, and chagrined with disappointed hope. The "exclusive" doctrine is as impolitic as it is impracticable. They may set their agents, as at Manchester, at the doors of those who refuse to be slaves, and warn the passing customers *not to buy*, but will it advance their cause? No: it stamps infamy upon it; and INFAMOUS must be the MAN, *whoever he be*, that suffers his election to be promoted by such scandalous means. Pity the country that has to be ruled by men of this stamp! The attempt, however, will fail, and the result of the ensuing election will shew that the radical reformers have been most successful where they have

had the least recourse to dishonourable means. For my own part, I would sooner be sent an exile to a foreign shore than be a slave in my own land.

Let me not be mistaken; while I write thus against the demon of slavery, shrouding itself in the garb of "exclusive dealing," I equally abhor the oppression of aristocrats, whether proprietors of the land, the spinning jenny, or the loom, and as they are not unlikely to fall into their old deeds, I beg to offer the following extracts from "An Address to the Preston Tyrants," which I published in 1826, as an admonition to this class also. To deprive a poor man of his employment for giving a conscientious vote, is just as wicked as to deprive the shopkeepers of their customers.

"And now, when his Majesty places the power in their hands, to choose men, who, they have reason to hope, will endeavour to lighten their burdens, you take advantage of their misfortune, and wantonly wrest that power from their hands. Detestable conduct! Let the memory of such execrable deeds be loaded with infamy!! Petition against Negro Slavery! the slavery of the mind is the worst of slavery. A man's mind is his own, he can make no engagements for its exercise, and so long as he is a good subject, he is amenable to no tribunal, but that of heaven, for his conclusions; his sentiments on politics or religion, therefore, ought to be beyond *your* control, and in inflicting the *punishment* which you are now doing, (for *punishment* it certainly is, to compel a man to vote both against his mind and his promise,) I hesitate not to say, that you are arrogating to yourselves the prerogative of God. If the man perform his labour to your satisfaction, this is all you have a right to expect—it is all you asked—it is all he agreed to give. They pay their own taxes, and you demand their vote! Their vote is their own, and the man is guilty of a foul deed that endeavours to rob them of it. You make them into mere tools—machines—through whose articulate organs (with heavy hearts!) your voice of corruption sounds. You *disfranchise* every man upon whom compulsion is used. Talk of representatives! of whom? not of the people, but of yourselves: they have, on former occasions been returned by *you*, and if justice might rule, the consequences of all their misdeeds ought to fall upon your heads.

"Is there no bribery—is there no perjury in all this? Do the men not swear that 'they have had no promise of money, office, *place*, *employment*, or reward, *directly* or *indirectly*, in order to give their vote at this election?' Is there any difference betwixt *withholding* employment for refus-

ing a vote, and *giving* employment upon the offer of one? Not a shadow. It is the *consideration* of the *employment* in both cases that *influences* the vote. Though habitual corruption may blind the judgment and sear the conscience, so as to lead you to justify yourselves, the unprejudiced and impartial consider your conduct as *bribery*, and your men *perjured by your instructions*. What can you expect of men, familiarized to bribery, and taught to trifle with their oath, but imbecility of principle, and perfidy of conduct?

“You have also votes to give. If some merchant should have the audacity and insolence to say, ‘Surrender your understanding to me; give up the invaluable right of choosing your own law makers, on whose decision the destinies of your own family and the nation depend, or I will visit the refusal by a final close of business,’ you would treat the demand with the contempt and indignity which it deserved, and the individual as a bigoted tyrant. ‘Do to others as you wish others to do to you.’ This is the best of laws: but your conduct, in the fairest view, is utterly incapable of standing before so equitable an injunction. The men are made of the same blood as yourselves; the same hand made you both: and though you may tyrannize over them here, a time fast approaches *when the oppressor and the slave shall meet together, and when the hand of justice shall avenge the wrongs of every sufferer!*”

EASTER DUES.

It is due to the numerous individuals who are constantly enquiring, what have become of the goods seized for Easter dues, to say, that they have been taken clandestinely to some other town (to Liverpool, it is supposed) and, for any thing we know, sold; but as we have not yet received any return of sales, I am unable to give any precise information. The demonstration of feeling in opposition to all unjust demands, in this parish, is but a symptom of what is spreading on the right hand and on the left. Churchmen may well cry out for a *commutation of tithes*, for it will be found much easier to collect defined sums in pounds, shillings, and pence, than to depend upon the market for titheable produce.

THE MORALIST.

Whenever you buy or sell, let or hire, make a clear bargain, and never trust to—“We sha’n’t disagree about trifles.”—Many friends are lost by ill timed jests: rather lose your best jest than your worst friend.—

Sir John Barleycorn is a stout knight, but a wicked and cunning knave, and does much mischief before men are aware of him.—Nothing is more odious than the face that smiles abroad, but flashes fury amidst the caresses of a tender wife and children.—Never defer that till to-morrow which you can do to day, nor do that by proxy which you can do yourself.—Poverty wants some things, luxury many things, but avarice all things.—Few die of hunger, fewer of thirst; but thousands by excess in eating, and tens of thousands by excess in drinking.—If custom is a second nature, how cautious ought we to be to avoid adopting bad ones!—Exercise authority with moderation, administer reproof with tenderness, confer favours with cheerfulness.—He who defers the amendment of his life till a *convenient opportunity*, is no wiser than he who deferred crossing the river till the water had passed by.—When scandal is busy destroying your neighbour's character, if charity and good nature open not your mouth in their defence, let silence close your lips.—Never let prosperity cut out the eyes of circumspection, nor abundance put off the hands of frugality.—Rather choose to punish your appetites, than be punished by them.—A good layer up makes a good layer out; and a good sparer a good spender.

THE INTERESTS OF SOCIETY.

"In faith and hope the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is charity:
All must be false that thwart this one great end,
And all of God that bless mankind, or mend."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORAL REFORMER.

Sir,—Man is strictly a social being; not an insulated individual, but a member of a great family. He has many wants to supply, and many evils to endure. He cannot suffer, but the great family of which he forms a part must suffer likewise, nor can any calamity befall the family at large but he must sustain a part of the affliction. No less true is it, that the public welfare is made up of individual prosperity, than that individual prosperity is dependant upon the public welfare. A nation, society, or family may prosper, though some individuals which belong to them are unhappy; and some individuals may prosper, though the community of which they form a part be unfortunate; but that community, however prosperous it may be, can never be estimable which does not sympathise with the misery of individuals, and, so far as the public welfare will permit, endeavour to relieve the distressed, nor can any individual, however successful he may be in his private affairs, be worthy of commendation who does not seek also the general interests of society.

It is undoubtedly the duty of the public first to consult for the general welfare, and then to attend to individual necessities; and it is also the paramount duty of individuals to provide for their own prosperity before they give their attention to the public good, but having supplied their own necessities, they are bound, by the social compact, to regard the general welfare.

There have been many communities, and even still there are several, which seem to reverse this great principle, and to provide for individual advantage to the detriment of the public, who heap their honours and their wealth upon a few, while they suffer the nation, society, or family to languish in poverty or misrule. There must of necessity be a gradation of rank in every society. Not more natural is it that there should be the feeble and the strong, the wise and the simple, the righteous and the unjust, the prudent and the profligate, the industrious and the idle, than that there should be the governor and the governed, the poor and rich, the unhappy and the happy. The virtuous and wise ought to be appointed to legislate, and the just and impartial ought to be chosen to put the laws in force; and when such is the case, the general welfare is consulted, and it becomes not only the duty, but the interest, of the community to acquiesce in the laws which are instituted for the *commonwealth*, and to support the magistrates in the execution of those laws against all who may offend, and to reward them according to the importance of the office they are called upon to fill, and to the responsibility and labour that are imposed upon them; but no community ought to submit to laws that are opposed to the natural rights of man, nor should ever permit the chief magistrates to pervert the laws, or the power committed to them, to their own aggrandizement or the furtherance of private and personal ambition, much less should they ever suffer the subtle and designing to gain the ascendancy, or heap their favours upon the ambitious and audacious.

There are but few who can rule in any community, and, what is more, there are but few who possess the rare qualifications of a good ruler, and hence comes the necessity of purchasing the services of competent persons at a considerable price. A man of superior mental attainment, of strict integrity, and of great activity is sure to secure a high station in society by his inherent virtues, and must almost necessarily obtain a large income, if he devote his powers to his private interest; and if he is called upon to employ his energies for the public governance, it would be in the highest degree unjust to expect his services for the same sum as would be paid for the labour of an ordinary man. Moreover, the value of his talents must be rated by the general condition of the society in which he lives. In a country in which the highest rate of intellect could not produce £1000 a year, it would be contrary to every standard of value to give a public servant as much as in a country where the same talents would yield £5000 a year: and the converse of this is equally true. If any eminent lawyer could, by his forensic practice, acquire £5000 a year, the public have no right to demand his services for a less sum; or if a skilful financier could have gained £2000 a year by his talents, surely no just person would raise an outcry against allowing the same sum for public services. On the contrary, when the responsibility of the service is considered, the opposition to be encountered, the anxiety to be endured, the mental exertion required, and the danger of losing his employment, no reasonable man would object to the salary being increased above the ordinary standard of value.

But though in remunerating adequately the services of public servants a community

be consulting the public welfare, yet the same statement will not hold true with respect to the elevation of the worthless and ambitious to public stations, and rewarding them for talents they do not possess, and for services they do not perform. The public good is then made to give way to private interest, and while such is the case the community must suffer.

But it would be taking a very limited view of society indeed, if we were to confine our attention to the remuneration of public officers. Unfortunately, in almost every community there is an attempt to provide for individual interest to the injury of the public, by partial legislation. Such are monopolies of all kinds, when they are granted through personal influence or obtained by treachery. Much might have been said for many of the monopolies which exist in this country, as peculiar or even exclusive privileges might at their institution be dictated by the soundest policy or urgent necessity; but when these monopolies become a public evil, it is in the highest degree partial and injurious to continue them, and is a decided breach of the great principle which I have laid down, that a community must always consult for the public welfare before they consider private interest. Again, all laws that have a tendency to promote the success of any particular branch of industry at the expence of another is a breach of the same great principle, such as restrictions upon trade, all political taxation, and bounties upon certain kinds of labour. Commerce never prospers so much as when it is entirely unshackled, and left at liberty to adjust itself by its own natural laws. Taxation must be equally and proportionately distributed, or some part of the community will have to sustain an unjust burden; or, if any exception be made, it should be in favour of the instruments employed in the increase of capital, and of the indigent, who are rather objects of bounty than exaction. If any part of the body be left free, it should be the sinews, the motive powers of the constitution, and the disabled members which can scarcely sustain their own weight. And every man should be burdened according to his sustaining power, and according to the benefit he receives from the social union. The expence incurred by a community is less, I conceive, needed to preserve personal liberty than to protect property and a fearless investment of capital; and if so, it is only consonant with right reason and common justice that the produce of property and of monied capital should bear its legitimate proportion of taxation. This rule would apply with considerable force to *funded* property, which is peculiarly interested in the sustenance of order and good government, and which ought to pay for its protection a proportion equal to its risk from any breach of the social compact. I hasten to make a few observations upon the necessity of a community, after having provided for the general weal, having respect to individual interest. Such is the constitution of all human affairs, that no general principles can be devised, that, while they respect the general good, will not be oppressive to individuals; and what is politic and humane as it respects the public may become impolitic and cruel in its operation upon individuals; and hence it becomes necessary to exercise a discretion in exacting the penalties of disobedience, lest the unintentional offender suffer with the designing culprit. Besides, in every community there are individuals who have a natural claim upon the public bounty: such are all who are incapacitated by age, or mental or bodily infirmities, from subsisting by their own exertions, and who cannot be supported by their immediate connections. With these exceptions, I conceive, no subject of individual interest ought to claim the interference of legislation, and even the first of these may generally be trusted to the executive power to point out the exceptions to the general principle, and to protect him from any unjust infliction.

Having already extended my observations beyond the usual limits of a letter, I must defer my consideration of the second light in which we ought to view the duty of man as a social being, until a future occasion.

PHILANTHROPOS.

PREACHING REFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORAL REFORMER.

Dear Sir—I am so delighted with your essay upon the prevalency of vice, and its real cause, that I hardly know how to express myself aright in its praise. I have been aware for a many years that something was radically wrong, that the ministerial office was not fully maintained by just preaching two or three sermons on a Sabbath day, taking dinner or tea with some of the wealthiest of their hearers, and visiting the sick and dying when called for; and yet I hardly knew what it was, and how it could be mended, till I read your number for August.

About twelve years since, I left the Dissenters, because the minister would raise the pew rents, at a time when they made him about £150 a year (and he had just married a wife with £500 a year) and I went to the church, Mr. — being, as I thought, the best preacher in the town: and though, with the exception of sickness, six of us have attended twice every Sabbath, without fail, Mr. — has never entered our door in all that time but once, and that once was to beg. These statements cannot concern you, but they are two instances of the wrong feeling and conduct which seems to pervade the whole.

I feel confident, from Mr. — abilities, he can put together and digest two such sermons as he preaches in one day, if not in half a day: then the question is, what does he do with himself the other five days? And most, if not all in our town, are in the same way. They are not in the highways and hedges persuading or compelling (as the case may be) poor wandering sinners to come and fill God's house; nay, in general, they act as if it were a matter of no moment whether those who are in stay or not, if there be nothing to fear in money matters: I believe, with a many of the Dissenters there is a foolish, false delicacy, as if because they invite people to the gospel feast, it should seem like fishing for customers to their chapel.

But to come to the real intent of this letter, I ask you, what can be done to remedy this great evil? Is there not a man to be found who would undertake to be a real labourer in Christ's vineyard, turning out daily, or twice a day, to his work, amongst the poor and needy, (the same as a labourer would and must turn out to his work,) attended, as the case might be, by one or two of his hearers, to help him to stem the torrent of iniquity? Without arrogating to myself anything more than proper Christian feelings, I will say with the prophet, "Oh! that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the sins of my townsmen!" for living near the top of —, and near the end of three or four streets, we are surrounded with drunkenness and blasphemy, so much so, that if I happen to awake in the night, nineteen times out of twenty, I shall hear one or the other before I can sleep again. With your apt comparisons before my eyes, about

"the doctors," "the lights," &c. I must say, that *the clergy have done this*. Somebody must begin to support and sanction the right mode of ministration, and I have no objection to be first and foremost, especially so, as I feel so impressed with its present wrong adaptation to obtain the end for which it was originally intended. I know scores of poor people who never go to any place of worship, and who never were asked to go, and who never will go, but who I believe would if called upon in a proper manner. If we solicit orders for goods with earnestness, and repeatedly, why not solicit and intreat poor wandering people to that which would be for their good here, and eternal good hereafter? Tell them that godliness hath the promise of *this* life, and will tend to make them comfortable now, more respectable in future, and give a blessed certainty of being happy in the world to come.

These things I could not do of myself however zealously inclined, but I could go with a person deputed and paid for such an apostolic employment. I have no doubt of being able to fill a room, and very soon a chapel, by such exertions as described in your "John Fearless." If the occurrences of a week's labour, however void of incident, were narrated and interspersed with pious remarks, on a Sabbath forenoon, instead of so much sermonizing, I think it would tend to do more good than we generally now experience; and if in the evening we had a lecture or sermon, and in the afternoon both minister and people stay at home, not to digest a good dinner exactly, but to rest their weary limbs after a week's toil, to teach their children, to read, write, and think on the morning's statements, and a many other things which I have not talents to state, as they might occur.

I am yours, respectfully,

Bolton.

J. R.

I have seldom read a letter with more pleasure than I have the above. It develops, by reference to facts, the importance of those principles which I have been constantly endeavouring to diffuse. And it exhibits the influence of those principles in the determination of the writer to do all that he can to carry them into effect. In answer to the question, "What can be done to remedy this great evil?" I feel some difficulty; for an efficient, and, I may add, a *Scriptural* plan would involve in it the abandonment of so much of the present systems, that few, I fear, are prepared for the change. Religion must be severed from the *love of money and worldly honours*, and be made incapable of ministering to either. It must be taken out of the hands of the rich and the powerful, and placed in the keeping and under the direction of the plain, sincere, disinterested followers of Christ: instead of exhibiting itself so much and so ostentatiously in mere forms of worship and placards on the wall, it must be diffused into the bosoms of families, be made to pervade the life and conversation of its friends, and to carry its consolations and its blessings into every poor man's cottage. Instead of exhausting the liberality of its adherents by fine chapels, splendid rituals, and large salaries, it should seek out and minister to the wants of the poor and the needy, for "with such sacrifices God is well pleased." When we consider the immense sums expended on religion, when we view the number of churches and chapels on every hand, when we hear so much said of its operations, and see so many large flaming bills announcing "sermons" and meetings every week; and yet, when, in the face of all this, we find that the great mass of the people are neither religious nor moral, that vice and crime stalk through every street with a daring front, and that open infidelity is every

where on the increase, we cannot but conclude that something is radically wrong. A cursory glance over the New Testament will discover the error, and point out in the example of Jesus and his apostles the only rational mode of instructing the people. Academicians may be useful in some departments, but they will never do the work here required. Their education, habits, address, and, above all, their ideas of salaries, render them unfit for a work so unpopular and self-denying; and, indeed, if they were to attempt it, they would displease many of their rich supporters. Modern ideas of the *respectability* of the Christian ministry are incompatible with primitive labour. How absurd to think that a man, educated at college, sequestered from every scene of wretchedness, dazzled with the honours of an ecclesiastical order, flattered with the caresses and adulation of the rich; taught to view the ministry as an avenue of wealth, to make the display of learning and oratory one of its principal duties, and to regard a personal exhibition, sacerdotal garments, perhaps a gold ring, and heaps of superstitious finery, as the proper appendages of office—how absurd to think of such a man visiting the alleys and lanes of the poor, descending the cellars and ascending the garrets of our miserable inhabitants, and bringing himself into contact daily with every species of vice and iniquity. But I don't blame the men so much as the systems to which unfortunately they happen to be tied. Many of them are worthy men, but they are tied down, and from them we cannot expect that change which my correspondent is so wishful to see adopted. To carry his wishes into effect, plain, hearty, self-denying Christians must come forward, and, abandoning every other view of religious prosperity but that of *doing good in the world*, must devote their time and means to this important work. A number joined together, with such a determination, would do incalculable good. However painful the step of separation, I fear many will not find it practicable, or at least comfortable, to do this and remain in their present connections. But nothing should deter them; and my advice to my correspondent is, to associate himself with as many others in his own town as he can meet with of the same disposition and of similar religious views, and to commence the important (and to me pleasing) work of going about teaching and admonishing the multitudes who are erring and straying from the ways of God. And besides their evening and casual labours, if there be one or two who can, like "John Fearless," devote seven days in the week to this labour of love, the money they have been accustomed to give to the never-ceasing collections and begging cases will provide any necessary support, though in my opinion, if the men do their duty, the receivers of spiritual things will be ready to minister to them sufficiently of their carnal things; and, perhaps, the only danger is of these labourers getting too much. Would to God every sect in every town in England would send out a band like this! Let "J. R." go on, and God speed his labours!

AN ADDRESS TO THE LABOURING CLASSES OF GREAT BRITAIN, ON THEIR MORAL, DOMESTIC, AND POLITICAL IMPORTANCE.

My Friends and Brethren!

Amidst all the complaints which the friends of their kind have to make of the present age, they must admit, and they ought to make the admission, not grudgingly, but liberally, that it is preeminently distinguished for the virtue of benefi-

cence. Many, during the last fifty years, have been the improvements in the arts and sciences; but a fairer and a nobler sight is presented in the merciful attention to the wants of the bulk of the people, which, during that period, individuals and societies have emulously manifested. What an array of beneficent agents might one easily enumerate! So much, indeed, has been done for the people, that the people have, in some instances, I fear, unlearned the way to aid themselves, and been led to rely on the charity of others, rather than their own resources. If, however, this influence has injured some, evils of a worse kind, and with a wider diffusion, have injured others—injured, I fear, and that materially, the bulk of the labouring classes. Excessive taxation has abridged your comforts, in some cases, your means of subsistence—has too often driven those who were poor to beggary, and those who had a sufficiency to poverty—lengthened unreasonably the time of your toil, and thereby shortened the time for the improvement of your minds. Nor can I but deeply regret the many hard and opprobrious names that have been cast upon you, and the unkind and unchristian manner in which, in many instances, you have been cut off from the sympathies of the richer and more educated of your fellow citizens. But while I blame others, I cannot acquit you yourselves. Many of you have done much to realize the accusations of your worst enemies, and to make your friends fear that efforts for your regeneration are hopeless. The bulk of the people never could have been in the painful state they are but by their own act. The influence of others would have been nugatory, had not its invitation been welcomed when it should have been withstood. Many of them are in want, because they have been shiftless and without forethought; and many vicious and wretched, because too idle to labour, and too thoughtless to seek knowledge. Yet, happy am I to know, and gladly do I bear the testimony, that there is a large, I hope increasing, portion of the labouring classes who are an honour at once to themselves, their country, and their kind—who are among the best and most useful members of the Christian community, and of the social commonwealth—and who afford in themselves ample illustrations of the blessedness of a virtuous and holy life. Such persons are the salt of the land, and they serve to point out to all how much goodness may exist in the labourer's bosom, how much happiness in his home, how useful he may be in this world, and how steadfast and bright his hope of a blissful eternity! In these excellent people I see the surest indications of your ability. What they are, all of you may become. Their conduct and their homes are specimens of what yours may be. Why not? Have you not the same organs, the same faculties, the same aids as they? My friends, one and a great cause of the corruption of the many is the low opinion that has been given out of their character. Unfortunately they have, in too many cases, taken up that false estimate, and having so done, proceeded by a natural consequence to act up to its representations. Men have been low because they were thought, and because they thought themselves low. Now, what I mainly wish is to free you from this pestilent error. Renounce it as your worst foe. Can you expect to rise above your own estimate of your own ability? A mean opinion of one's self will, of necessity, form a mean character. It is an effectual bar to the first steps towards mental or moral excellence. The consciousness of power it is that gives strength. The courageous conquer because they feel their spirit swelling in their breast, while the cowardly perish in their sense of littleness. Many become good, who feel they have the ability to be so. Drive from you, then, the baneful falsehood, whether it come to you from the pul-

pit, the press, or your own minds, that you must be low, that your nature is such that you are fittest to lead a life of degradation. On the contrary, whatever your character may actually be, feel assured that God has given you the power to improve it—greatly—almost without limits. In order to acquire this assurance of your own dignity, follow me in some considerations which are fitted to encourage it.

In lineage you are a man—one of that privileged race of beings whom God has permitted to bear his own image—to whom he gives a portion of his own understanding, and invites to share in his own immortality,—one of that race who alone, of all earthly creatures, have by searching found out God, seen the Creator through his works, discovered his attributes and his intentions from his acts and dealings, learnt in part their duty and their destiny from the silent page of nature, and been thought by the great Spirit of the universe worthy of his special and ceaseless care, and of supernatural disclosures of his will—worthy, that is, of the blessedness of immortality. You are one of that noble race of beings who have disclosed the courses of the stars, subdued the elements into their service, triumphed over the perils of the ocean, united the most distant parts of a disjointed world by an interchange of visits, thoughts, and advantages—wrought out from a state of barbarism, when no safety was found on earth, and no city rose proudly on its bosom—when individuals had to dispute with the beasts of the forest the plot of ground on which they passed the night, and the scanty food with which they hoped to appease their hunger—wrought out their own greatness in the improvement of their minds—in the discovery of the arts, comforts, and ornaments of life—in the acquirement of all the splendid trophies to their skill, their forethought, their industry, which may be seen profusely scattered over the face of the earth—and in the formation of that busy and full world of thought and feeling which presides over, impregnates, and adorns the intercourse of civilized life. You are of that noble race of beings who have furnished instances of every virtue—the patriot, prodigal of his noble blood for his country's good—the lover of his kind, travelling up and down the world to search out and put an end to wretchedness, and stopping only when the springs of life, destroyed and worn out in the labour of love, could play no longer—the good wife, abridging her own comforts to increase her husband's, and saving his life at the peril, perhaps with the loss, of her own—the good mother, whose first, chief, and last care was the welfare of her children, in seeking which she shortened her days, and, gaining the reward, was happy in the sacrifice. These worthies are your kindred. What they have been you may be. At least, a portion of their excellence is within your reach. They exhibit virtues which depend not on rank, but on humanity—not on the distinctions of society, but on the essential features of your kind: they are the virtues of men, not nobles—of mothers, and fathers, and citizens. Yes, it is a higher honour to have the blood of a man than of a king in your veins. Be proud that you are of the race of man: your rank is a small matter compared with your race. Does the thought cross your mind, that, being in humble life, you have not the power to be greatly good? You err. Goodness is peculiar to no class of society. A common and an equal Father has distributed with an equal hand the seeds of goodness, and therein of happiness, over the whole surface of the habitable globe. Which of the more important virtues is there you have not the means of cultivating? Justice, sobriety, truth, kindness, the love of God and man, the improvement of time, and the preparation for eternity: tell me why

you have not an interest in these virtues—what bar there is in the way of your acquiring them. To none are they more needful than to the labourer. And though the effort may be great to make them your own, great will be the reward. No outlay repays so well, and with so much certainty, as the outlay of effort for the acquirement of virtue. It never returns void, but always with an increase proportionate to the labour bestowed. Now, these virtues contain in them the elements of true greatness. To be good is to be great. Whatever the fashion of the world may say, true greatness depends not on rank but character. And so it often happens that in the humblest walks of life the truest greatness is to be found. No; you are under no disqualification for moral excellence. Cannot the labourer gain the mastery of his passions, of his temper?—cannot he refine his affections?—cannot he be diligent and scrupulous in the discharge of his duties—maintain an elevated tone and delicate sensibility of moral feeling? O yes; these rare virtues are limited to no rank. They are offered as the common heritage and the common blessing of humanity. Yes, I repeat, true greatness is within the reach of the labourer as much as that of the prince. Cannot the labourer maintain a mind as free from prejudice, cultivate a breast as rich in benevolence, love his God with a spirit as grateful and devout, embrace his child with a thrill as exquisite, order his house in obedience and affection as entire and deep, as can the proudest noble of the land? To whom are we to ascribe the wonderful creations of modern science, the adaptation of the discoveries in science to the arts of life, the multiplication of the productive power of these kingdoms? To whom are we to ascribe the education of the youthful poor—the benign machinery of the Sunday school—the powerful check that vice has, in consequence, received—the increase of goodness which has ensued—the increase in order, cleanliness, sobriety, of domestic peace and comfort, of national prosperity, of those holy and sublime affections that ally the creature with the Creator,—to whom, but mainly to the people?—to those, at whose birth no fortune but what seemed adverse assisted, whose career no applause encouraged, whose reward was not the smile of kings, not patents of nobility, but only the silent approbation of their own minds, and the consciousness of growing excellence and increasing happiness! From your own ranks those have sprung who have most effectually used the power of the press, most urgently pleaded the cause of the outcast and the destitute, and asserted the claims of sufferers under the diminution or the loss of their civil rights. In a word, there is no walk in life in which those are not found who, but half a century since, were in and of the mass. The people have adorned the pulpit, the bar, the senate, and, by the native form of their character, made for themselves or their immediate descendants a way into the rank and halls of peers. Working men have raised themselves and their families not only ample but princely fortunes, and, what is more, have earned a name which the legislature has been proud to honour—which distant nations have united to extol, and which a late posterity will celebrate with constantly increasing praise. Working men, by their skill, their industry and enterprise, have contrived labour, and by labour food, education, comforts for untold thousands of their own class, and given a new vigour to the political constitution of which they formed a part, augmenting the happiness and the strength of all the portions and the whole of the social frame. But how? How have these wonders of modern times been wrought? How have the people indicated to themselves, by some rare but noble illustrations of what they are capable, the rank and the importance which they ought to possess? Not by low ideas of their capabilities; not by indulging in sloth and intemper-

rance; not by reliance on the charity of others: but by their own act, by a consciousness of ability, by the employment of their own resources. They gained their power and worked their miracles, not in the tavern, but in the retirement of their own minds, and the pursuit of ceaseless industry. They felt their ability in their bosoms, and they gave their ability effect by frugality, sobriety, forethought, and labour.

To contemplate your character in another point of view—You are a father, the master of a family, who are dependent on you, and without you perhaps utterly destitute. A female, in those days when hope and imagination drew out a prospect in bright and enchanting colours, intrusted her happiness in your hands, relying on your assurances and fidelity. Her little ones and yours are around her, and from her and you are to receive every influence that will affect their character and their happiness. Their young hearts are yet unsullied by vice, and the tear that has dimmed their eye a quick coming smile has driven away. How happy and joyful do they live, how fondly do they crowd around you when you return from your labour, and with what gay and innocent prattle do they tell you all their little news! Whether or not their bright morning shall be followed by a day of darkness, who but you will determine? Oh! can you think without pain of their becoming wretched in becoming vicious? How much more acceptable the thought, that they will grow up to be a comfort to yourself and her that fed them at her breast, and when your day of labour is past, and the darkness of age comes upon you, to pay the debt they owe you in aiding you to procure a subsistence, and smoothing, by kind attentions, the rough road you will have to tread. Look at your family, and learn the importance of the station you hold. Their happiness—your own happiness—both depend on yourself. And of what consists the bulk of society but of families like yours? On parents, therefore, depends the happiness of the community. You have to answer the question—Shall this land be a land of peace or wretchedness? Shall its people have or not bread to eat, and comfortable abodes and clothing? Shall they be instructed or ignorant, virtuous or vicious, an honour or a disgrace to themselves and their country? And that not in one, but through many generations. Vice and virtue pass alike from age to age as from man to man. The father bequeaths—if he leaves nothing else—his character to his offspring: he bequeaths them more—the consequences of his own evil courses, in weak and puny frames, disordered and depraved minds, in the wretchedness of poverty, perhaps of crime. And so from father to son does the poisoned current flow through many generations, bearing in its ever swelling and widening waters moral ruin through many a breast and many a home. It is in the power of no mortal to tell the amount of misery thus occasioned. What strife and broils, what want and despair in the family, and in each individual what trouble, sorrow, fear, grief, rage! And then in eternity—But the scene is too horrible to contemplate: I pass it by in awe. But what an amount of happiness is thus thrown away, as well as misery created! The natural workings of the human frame the Deity has filled with gratification. Not a motive, not a feeling but gives pleasure. Happiness is wrought into the very texture of our bodies; and to be, to live, to see, to hear, to feel is to be happy. There is a happiness pervading all the frame in the mere feeling of existence, in the generous and full flow of life which health and exercise produce; there is a happiness in looking on the earth, and traversing its surface, and watching the play of its peaceful though irrational inhabitants; there is a happiness that cometh down from heaven to the mind that dwells on its gorgeous pageantry; there is a happiness, a full, rich, ceaseless happiness, in the in-

tercourses of a virtuous home, in the comfort of one's partner, and the joy of one's children, and the prospects and hopes they afford: and all this is thrown away by the vicious. Look, then, my friends and brethren, look on this picture and on that—on one side is blessing, on the other cursing—in your own bosoms, your own homes, the homes of your children and their children, in your neighbourhood and your country. They both—blessing and cursing—with all their endless and mighty consequences, depend, parents, on you. This is a measure—this blessing or cursing—of the importance of your character, your station, your conduct. Oh! rise to a proper conception of the consequences of your actions, of your dignity if virtuous, of your degradation if vicious.

Finally. You are a citizen, and you claim to exercise all the rights of a citizen. Let your claim be granted, and let vice degrade your character, and you will be a curse to your country. Important as are the acts of the legislature, your own character, in a national point of view, is more important still. A virtuous people will not long have a vicious government, and a vicious people will speedily vitiate the best government, and render the best laws and institutions not only useless but baneful. You are, I fear, too much given to look to your governors—not to yourselves—for political reforms. I do not deny that the government may and ought to do much; but I assert, that if they are to do good permanently, the bulk of the people must be good. Reform yourselves, and eventually you will reform the body politic. A corrupt government could not subsist among a virtuous people. A regeneration would be forced on them by the swelling and ascending waves of popular virtue.

The vicious citizen is, by his immorality, prepared to be the tool of the demagogue or the tyrant. He is ready to serve the master that will pay his services best, and, provided his selfish and foul passions can be gratified, he cares not whether he is made to contribute to the injury or the improvement of his country. Nay, as there is in men a love to sin, if it secure popular applause, he would rather, perhaps, be an instrument of evil than of good. Virtue is the only sure guarantee for the beneficial exercise of any political right. Rank, riches, and education, have each been deemed (and especially the first two) qualifications for the possession of power in the commonwealth, but, in reality, they are good, mainly, not to say exclusively, so far as they are *tokens and pledges of a virtuous character*. Be virtuous, and you are fit, however poor and humble, for the exercise of political power. This virtue will give you an interest in what is good—good government—good laws—good governors. You will have a sympathy with, and an attachment to what is good; and from what is bad, that is, from what is corrupt, injurious to your fellow men, you will turn away in the alienation of your heart, or oppose, with the energy and indignation which virtue inspires, and can so well support. I do not deny that knowledge and mental cultivation are valuable aids; but I know that they have been made the instruments of the designing—the levers by which political adventurers have raised themselves to eminence, by deluding the many, and pandering to the few. But virtue can, designedly, do no act injurious to the state, and will spurn no efforts to learn, as well as to do, what is right. Virtue guarantees industry to acquire, as well as integrity to use knowledge, and, in respect to the great interests of society, will not fail to acquire information sufficient to come to a conclusion not essentially wrong. No, my friends, those who have presided over the destinies of these kingdoms did not want knowledge and mental cultivation: they wanted political honesty. Their power of mind made their dishonesty our bane—without it, they might have desired, but could not, to any thing like the extent they did, have spread and battered

in corruption. And, now, what can restore the strength and soundness of the frame of society? I answer, a moral regeneration. Honesty—virtue—must begin, and hold its way from the highest to the lowest, and from the lowest to the highest. Let the character of the nation be reformed, and its institutions will not be long corrupt. Happy the class who begin this desirable change, who carry it forward to completion. A high reward awaits them in the increase of their own happiness—in the multiplied comforts of a nation—in the salvation of a people from moral degradation and political misrule. Let the people be the first to move. The whole mass of society, forced up by the elevation of its base, will soon share in the moral elevation, and you, my friends, humble as you may be thought, will be the saviours of the nation.

The time has come when you begin to have some notion of your weight in the social scale. The events of the last fifty years have taught you, that power resides mainly with the people. You have seen them become the arbiters of the destinies of nations—cast down thrones which ages had settled and consecrated—change the whole surface and substance of societies—create new forms of government and modes of life as quickly as the passage of successive years. In your own land your voice has made itself to be heard in halls, which a century since were closed and sealed against the popular will—has stayed the hand of tyranny and the torrent of corruption—has made the hearts of the great misgive them, and given to the political machine a bias, by which it is beginning to favour the interest, not as heretofore, of the privileged few, but of the despised many. You have made your claims known, and rights are granted which will double your power. The position of the people, at the present moment, is in itself, and in the prospects it holds out, full of interest and hope. It promises, not merely a political regeneration, but, in the gain and the exercise of long withheld rights, a moral regeneration also. Men will learn to feel their dignity in feeling their power, and, conscious of their social importance, will be careful of their characters. The possession of unrestrained power is a curse: equally so the loss of all social consequence. The one makes a tyrant, the other a slave. But the exercise of power, in which many concur, in which excess is prevented by competition, and ambition fostered by the hope and the ability of rising in the social scale, encourages the action of the mind, and brings forth the fruits of moral excellence. But this is true only where there is a basis of virtue in the character, on which to erect the edifice of political and moral worth. The soil must be good, or the best seed will perish. Every thing depends on the state of his mind and heart, to whom power is entrusted. Is it good—it will speedily become better by the very trust committed to him. Is it bad—what might have been a blessing to the individual and many of his fellow citizens, will be converted into an instrument of evil to himself and all over whom he has an influence. The possession of political influence, then, is really desirable, only to those who are of good character. To none but these can it prove beneficial, and none but these can use it to a beneficial end. But, with the influence which they now have, and which they are daily augmenting, the people of this land may, provided they love and pursue virtue, work out a good, to be measured only by the happiness of myriads in the present and successive generations. What a weight of importance depends in the use you make of your power. You have in your hands the destiny of millions. Your conduct will determine the question—Shall the hopes which the benevolent and patriotic are now forming perish, or be realized?—shall the bright prospects that appear in

the distance before us, vanish as an unsubstantial vision?—shall misery, perhaps anarchy and slaughter, stalk through the land, or righteousness and peace run down in streams?—shall every succeeding generation, the child and the sire unborn, rise up and call you—my friends and brethren of the people—call you blessed? Never, perhaps, was a more awfully important question proposed to an artisan to answer—never interests of greater consequence at issue—never a crisis involving more calamity or blessedness than the present. In the fate of the present extension of civil power, and the conduct of the people of this kingdom, is bound up the fate of liberty and good government all over the world, and pre-eminently throughout Europe. Use your influence for good, and the cause of liberty will be as triumphant as it is righteous—for evil, and you will bring plagues worse than those of Egypt on yourselves, your children, your posterity, and blight the prospects, and paralyze the arm of many a patriot in foreign lands.

Well, then, may you feel the dignity of the mission you have to fulfil. As men, as parents, as citizens, you have in your hands more influence than would possess the kings of the earth banded together in holiest alliance. For them, they could do little more than register the will and follow the leading of virtuous myriads; whereas, be what your weight in the social scale requires, be diligent to do your duty as men, as parents, as citizens, and, instead of becoming, as must the vicious, the slaves and tools of the few, you will shape their course, impel them to good though they mean evil, give effect to the good they intend, and work out a good of your own, of more worth because your own act, and more extensive, because, with yourselves, pervading the mass of society, and going into the majority of families throughout the land.

J. R. B.

AN ADDRESS TO THE DEITY.

Oh! thou invisible, omniscient One,
 Whose habitation is eternity,
 Incline thine ear, Jehovah, from thy throne,
 Aid my adoring soul to sing of Thee;
 And let my orison accepted be,
 An offering worthy of thy holy shrine;
 Impart thy dove-like Spirit pure and free:
 The grateful joy of worshipping be mine,
 The glory and the praise—the tribute due—be thine!

Thou! who dost make the heart thy temple, Thou
 Who dwell'st between the cherubim in heaven,
 Before whose face the veiled archangels bow,
 At whose dread voice th' eternal rocks are riven,
 Whose name is Holy—to the nations given,
 Since first thou framed'st foundations for the earth,—
 Thou! at whose wrath the thunderbolts are driven,
 To whom the morning stars sang in their mirth,
 When God's angelic sons hailed the creation's birth;—

Thou! whose chief altar is a contrite heart,
 Whose incense, tears that most in secret flow,
 Whose sweetest sacrifice is to depart
 From sin, that leads to death and lasting woe!
 Thou! who didst purchase for frail man below
 A life of endless bliss beyond the tomb,
 Breathe on my heart an animating glow,
 The darkness of my clouded mind illumine,
 And give with brighter hue my spirit's flower to bloom!

Thou hast been with me in unchanging truth,
 From childhood's dawn to manhood's perfect day;
 Thy brooding Spirit hovered o'er my youth.
 Ah! happy had I never gone astray!—
 Now, looking back, I find me far away,
 A devious wanderer from the path of bliss,
 And sigh, when none is near, for virtue's ray,
 Again to lead my willing steps to peace,
 And give to my tired heart the rest where sorrows cease.

Thou still shalt be, as Thou before hast been,
 A present help in deep affliction's hour;
 Thine arm shall still support me, though unseen,
 And crush the bruiser in his pride of power:
 Thy fostering dews th' amaranthine flower
 Of virtue cherish, to unfold again;
 And though awhile the storms of vice may lower,
 And threat to blight the bud of life within,
 Yet Thou at length shalt rise and all triumphant reign.

My mind can trace Thee in its daily walk,
 Guiding with powerful sway my secret soul;
 And, as the sap recruits the thirsty stalk,
 So thy sweet streams of consolation roll:
 As turns the needle to its native pole,
 So turns my heart, too long estranged, to Thee;
 And as the wave obeys the wind's control,
 Unquestioned be thy sacred law by me,
 Where love can feel no fear—obedience make me free.

God of my sire! around my vocal shell
 Let the sweet breath of grateful incense creep,
 As o'er my soul the recollections swell
 Of him long buried in eternal sleep!
 As now the dews of pious sorrow steep
 My lonely breast, and prompt the pensive sigh,
 My tears are not unwelcome—though I weep—
 Virtue permits to mourn o'er those who die,
 Who, righteous while on earth, have gained their native sky.

I would, too, thank Thee for that gentler form,
 Now sweetly slumbering in her place of rest,
 Whose love, through life, as seraph's pure and warm,
 Glowed, without change, in her maternal breast.
 Ah! she is happy, mingling with the blest,
 Escaped through many sorrows to that shore
 Where Wisdom's children, now no more distressed,
 Rejoice to find their keen assailments o'er,
 And join the angelic throng to suffer pain no more.

Oh! for the blessed hope of Israel's seer,
 Who, when Elijah pierced the ethereal blue,
 Stood with expectant fervour gazing near,
 And caught the prophet's mantle as he flew!
 So give their bloom of beauty to imbue
 My spirit's depth, and sanctify the shrine
 Round which, in years of youth, they fondly drew
 The sheltering wing of guardianship divine,
 And hoped in time to come to see me only Thine.

And as in pensive mood I view the grave,
 Which holds a once loved infant's mouldering clay,
 My heart is turned to God who kindly gave,
 And who, in equal kindness, took away:—
 Bright are the beams of hope that round me play:—
 "I go to him, he cannot come to me;"—
 I trust to meet, in realms of purer day,
 This flower which now expands in bliss with thee,
 A beacon to my soul, through varying time to be.

And shall I thank thee less for those that now
 Remain as islets 'midst the sea of life?
 For her whose placid beauty soothes my brow,
 My sweet companion, and endearing wife?
 For each fair prattling pledge, with promise rife
 Of future plenty and enduring fruit?
 Oh! that thine outstretched arm may shield from strife
 These guileless babes, whose gaities recruit
 My spirits' wearied flow, and fill with rapture mute!

Oh Thou! adored and adorable,
 Eternal God! man's life—thy gift—is thine:—
 Hear, I beseech thee, as my feelings swell,
 And breathe their vocal utterance at thy shrine!—
 Oh! grant that preservation may be mine,
 And theirs whom thou hast given me;—from thy throne,
 Vouchsafe, I pray thee, thy regard benign,
 And keep us or united or alone,
 Till thou shalt call us hence and make thy Heav'n our own!

LINES,

ADDRESSED TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PRESTON TEMPERANCE SOCIETY,

By E. Morris, of Glasgow.

What evils, Intem'rance! with thine can compare!
 What weeping, and wailing, and wide-spread despair
 Is heard in thy dwelling! thy region is death,
 And poison comes forth from thy terrible breath.

Ah! cruel deceiver! thou'st smitten our isle!
 The red rose of England refuses to smile,
 And Scotia's proud thistle bows low in the gale,
 And Erin's loved shamrock droops sad in the vale.

But see! a new banner is lifted on high,
 Whose beauty and glory gild Britain's fair sky:
 And, Preston! this banner is *precious to thee*;
 Thy sons and thy daughters around it I see.

Thy zeal I admire—Oh!—on in the fight!
 Strike *home at the foe*—put his legions to flight—
 The *monster*, far chase from the land that we love:
 Strike *deep at his roots*—*quick!*—compel him to move!

Ye young men and maidens, come, join in this war;
 Ye men of all creeds, to this banner repair;
 The prince and the peasant, the son and the sire,
 We need in this battle:—may all catch the fire!

No garments are stained in this war that we wage,
 No fields dyed with blood, whilst the contest doth rage;
 'Tis *vice*, and *vice only*, we seek to destroy,
 And *truth is the weapon* we always employ.

Oh listen! the news from Columbia's shore
 Is glorious; the *reign* of the *monster* is o'er:
 Learn, England! thy daughter doth call on thee now
 Her footsteps to follow—this cause to avow!

That Being who sits on the throne of the sky,
 And bends o'er all creatures a pitiful eye,
 Beholds with approval—His blessings we own—
 And He, more abundant, our efforts will crown.

Preston, 18th October, 1832.

J. Livesey, Printer, Preston.